

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T CAPE TOWN 0094

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH
SUBJ: RHODESIA: RICHARD-MUZOREWA MEETING OF JANUARY 20

REF: CAPE TOWN 0092

1. IVOR RICHARD SAW BISHOP MUZOREWA THURSDAY NIGHT JANUARY 10, 1977 AND ARRANGED TO SEE HIM AGAIN ON JANUARY 24. SOMETIME AFTER THE MEETING MUZOREWA TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE THINKS THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WOULD "FORM THE FOUNDATION" FOR A NEGOTIATION.
2. THERE WAS NOT MUCH DISCUSSION OF THE BRITISH PAPER. AT FIRST MUZOREWA'S GROUP THOUGHT IT DIFFERED FROM THE IDEAS DISCUSSED ON RICHARD'S LAST VISIT TO SALISBURY. THERE WERE DOUBTFUL ABOUT THE ADVISORY COUNCIL, AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE CHIEFS OF STAFF MUST BE MEN THEY COULD TRUST.
3. RICHARD REASSURED THEM THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED, AND TOLD THEM THAT NEITHER KAUNDA NOR NYERERE HAD PRESSED FOR THE BISHOP'S OR SITHOLE'S EXCLUSION.
4. MUZOREWA ACCUSED RICHARD OF TAKING ORDERS FROM THE FRONT

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LINE PRESIDENTS, OF PRODUCING A PAPER ONLY BECAUSE NKOMO HAD ASKED FOR ONE, AND OF SEEING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MORE OFTEN THAN THEM. RICHARD DISABUSED THEM OF THESE NOTIONS, AND ADDED THAT HE HAD NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD NOT ATTEND THE RESUMED CONFERENCE.

5. MUZOREWA PRESSED HARD FOR AN EARLY REFERENDUM, ARGUING THAT LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONALISTS HAD BECOME A MAJOR ISSUE, THAT IF SUCH A REFERENDUM HAD ALREADY TAKEN PLACE THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WOULD NOT HAVE ENDORSED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND THAT THE GUERRILLAS WOULD NOT GO ON FIGHTING AFTER A REFERENDUM. RICHARD REPLIED THAT THEY WERE ASKING FOR A REFERENDUM WITH SMITH STILL IN CONTROL, AND WITH THE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS PROHIBITED FROM CAMPAIGNING. THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, THE OAU, AND THE UN WOULD NEVER ACCEPT THE RESULTS, AND THE WAR WOULD CONTINUE. IN ANY CASE, THE REFERENDUM WOULD ONLY PROVE WHAT EVERYONE KNEW ALREADY, THAT MUZOREWA ENJOYED MAJORITY SUPPORT. IF HE WANTED A SETTLEMENT, HE WOULD EITHER HAVE TO RETURN TO GENEVA OR TO DO A DEAL WITH SMITH. THEY ANSWERED THAT BRITAIN SHOULD SUPERVISE THE REFERENDUM, BUT RICHARD DAID HE DID NOT THINK THIS WOULD HELP BRING ABOUT AN AGREED SETTLEMENT.

6. MUZOREWA THEN SAID THAT IT WAS STILL HIS POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTERNAL DEAL WITH SMITH, BUT THAT MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS WERE URGING HIM TO MAKE SUCH A DEAL, WITH OR WITHOUT BRITISH PARTICIPATION. (THERE WAS A REPORT IN THE JANUARY 21 RHODESIA HERALD THAT 80 BRANCHES OF THE ANC HAVE GIVEN THE BISHOP A MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE). CHAVANDUKA ADDED THAT THERE MIGHT HAVE TO BE A REFERENDUM UNDER SMITH, BUT RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE HARD IF NO IMPOSSIBLE FOR BRITAIN TO ACCEPT THE RESULT OF ANY SUCH REFERENDUM.

7. RICHARD BELIEVES MUZOREWA IS IN A DILEMMA. HIS FOLLOWERS ARE RESENTFUL OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS'S INTERFERENCE AND THERE IS EVIDENCE OF AN UPSURGE OF SUPPORT
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FOR THE BISHOP WHICH IS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE FRONTLINE STATES' ACTIONS. THE BISHOP WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE WHO COMMANDS AFRICAN SUPPORT INSIDE RHODESIA. ACCORDINGLY MUQOREWA ASKED RICHARD TO TELL THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS THAT THE VIEWS OF THE AFRICANS INSIDE RHODESIA ARE MOST IMPORTANT.

8. ALTHOUGH THE BISHOP IS AWARE OF THE DANGER FOR HIM OF TRYING TO DO A DEAL WITH SMITH, RICHARD BELIEVES THAT MUZOREWA FACES INCREASING DIFFICULTY IF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (AND THE OAU) CONTINUE THEIR CAMPAIGN IN FAVOUR OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. RICHARD CONCLUDES THAT MUZOREWA WILL BROADLY ACCEPT THE BRITISH PAPER AND THAT HE WILL BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE WITHIN THE GENEVA FRAMEWORK, WHILE KEEPING HIS FUTURE OPTIONS OPEN.
BOWDLER

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